

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 H-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10  
NSAE-00 PA-01 ICA-11 SP-02 /043 W  
-----071233 101002Z /12  
R 100937Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8041

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TAIPEI 04355

E.O.11652: GDS  
TAGS : PINT, SHUM, TW  
SUBJECT : SECOND WRITTEN STATEMENT BY CH'EN CHU

REF : TAIPEI 04310

1. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. FOLLOWING IS UNOFFICIAL EMBASSY  
TRANSLATION OF A SECOND STATEMENT WRITTEN BY CH'EN CHU  
AND DATED JULY 5:

BEGIN QUOTE. DURING THE YEARS WHEN I FOLLOWED MR. KUO  
YU-HSIN, HE EDUCATED ME AND REPEATEDLY MENTIONED THE  
MOTHERLAND'S ABANDONING TAIWAN AND CEDING IT TO JAPAN.  
LI HUNG-CHANG SAID IN HIS MEMORIAL TO THE THRONE OF  
THE MANCHURIAN DYNASTY "THE BIRDS ON THE ISLAND OF TAIWAN  
DID NOT SING, THE FLOWERS DID NOT SMELL GOOD, AND THE  
MEN DID NOT HAVE EMOTION NOR JUSTICE." WAS THAT TRUE?  
TAIWAN IS PART OF THE TERRITORY OF THE MOTHERLAND AFTER  
ALL. WHY SHOULD IT BE CEDED TO JAPAN AND THE PEOPLE  
ON THE ISLAND HAVE TO SUFFER THE INSULT OF JAPANESE  
RULE FOR FIFTY YEARS? MR. KUO SAID THE FEBRUARY 28,  
1947 INCIDENT WAS CAUSED BY CH'EN I'S ONE-YEAR MISTAKES  
ON TAIWAN, BUT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD ALSO TAKE THE  
MAJOR PORTION OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE INCIDENT.  
MANY DISTINGUISHED TAIWANESE WERE KILLED AT THAT TIME.  
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DIDN'T THE GOVERNMENT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST THE TAIWANESE?  
THEREFORE, WHEN I THOUGHT I WAS A CHINESE, I ALSO  
THOUGHT I WAS A TAIWANESE.  
- WHAT MR. KUO AND HIS FRIENDS GAVE ME WAS PREJUDICED  
IDEAS. MY FAMILY SURROUNDINGS AND SCHOOLING DID NOT  
LET ME HAVE ANY STRONG SENSE OF LOCALISM, BUT I WAS A  
LOYAL CADRE AND BLIND FOLLOWER OF MR. KUO. MR.

KUO'S ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND HIS LOSSES IN THE ELECTIONS AS WELL AS THE SUFFERING OF SOME OF HIS FRIENDS SERVED TO DEEPEN MY PREJUDICE AND MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE GOVERNMENT. I FELT THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT HAVE THE LENIENCY TO ACCEPT THE DISSIDENTS AND THAT THIS WAS CONTRARY TO DEMOCRACY.

- THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE ROC. IN THE FACE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST MILITARY THREAT AND THEIR EMPHATIC STATEMENTS THAT TAIWAN IS PART OF THE TERRITORY OF MAINLAND CHINA, I HELD THAT A ROC GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCEMENT OF TAIWAN AS AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY WHEN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WAS AT ITS WORST WOULD ENABLE TAIWAN TO BE FREE FROM A MILITARY INVASION FROM THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS AND THE 17 MILLION COMPATRIOTS ON TAIWAN TO BE FREE FROM COMMUNIST SLAVERY TOO. IF TAIWAN IS DECLARED INDEPENDENT, ANY CHINESE COMMUNIST AGGRESSION WOULD NOT BE AN INTERNAL ISSUE BUT AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. WE MIGHT APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT AND FIGHT FOR THE SYMPATHY OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS. BECAUSE OF MY STRONG OPPOSITION TO COMMUNISM, I ADVOCATED THIS COURSE IF WE FACED SUCH A SITUATION. THIS IS A MEANS FOR A COUNTRY TO ACHIEVE ITS NATIONAL GOAL.

- FOR THE PAST TEN DAYS, I HAVE BEEN COMMUNICATING WITH MY FRIENDS. FROM EITHER AN HISTORICAL OR CULTURAL POINT OF VIEW, MY VIEW IS ABSOLUTELY CONFIDENTIAL

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WRONG. MY MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE GOVERNMENT IS PREJUDICED AND SUBJECTIVE, AND WHAT I ADVOCATED FOR DEALING WITH THE CRISIS TAIWAN MAY FACE IS ABSURD AND STUPID. THESE FRIENDS' ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTION FROM THE VIEWPOINTS OF MILITARY STRATEGY, THE TREATY AND THE CONSPIRACY OF THE U.S. AND JAPAN LED ME TO UNDERSTAND THAT I WAS MISLED BY A NARROW-MINDED VIEW. I HAVE REALIZED THAT ONLY BY UNITING AND COOPERATING CLOSELY CAN WE ATTAIN THE ANTI-COMMUNIST GOAL AND PROTECT THE SECURITY AND WELL-BEING OF THE 17 MILLION PEOPLE.

- ALTHOUGH I KNOW IN THE PAST THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION, TO ANNOUNCE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN WAS NOT FEASIBLE, I STILL THOUGHT IN AN EMERGENCY PERIOD THAT THE COUNTRY COULD TIDE OVER THE CRISIS ONLY BY EXTRAORDINARY MEANS. I REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED THAT I DID NOT INSIST ON WHAT I ADVOCATED IF THE GOVERNMENT HAD A BETTER COUNTER-POLICY. THIS WAS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MR. KUO AND ME.

- IN THE PAST, I HELPED MY FRIENDS PUBLISH MAGAZINES. I THOUGHT THIS WAS ONE OF THE LAWFUL MEANS TO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND I DID NOT GIVE THOUGHT TO THE ILL EFFECTS

THE CONTENTS OF THE ARTICLES IN THE MAGAZINES MIGHT  
BRING TO ORDINARY PEOPLE. IN MY VIEW, THERE MUST BE  
DIFFERENT VIEWS AND VOICES IN A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY.  
BUT NOW I CAN REALIZE THAT TOO MUCH NOISE WILL SERVE  
TO CONFUSE THE PUBLIC.

- AS TO SHIPPING OF BANNED BOOKS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES,  
DID THIS AT THE REQUEST OF THE AUTHORS. THE  
OTHER REASON WAS THAT I SHARED THE VIEWS OF THE AUTHORS  
THEN. AT THAT TIME I ONLY THOUGHT THAT THIS WAS

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 PA-01 ICA-11 SP-02 /042 W

-----071249 101002Z /12

R 100937Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8042

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TAIPEI 04355

A POLITICAL QUESTION BUT DID NOT CONSIDER WHETHER THE  
ACT WAS LAWFUL OR NOT.

- LET BYGONES BE BYGONES. I OFTEN SAY MAN'S THOUGHT  
IS CHANGEABLE BUT LOVE IS PERMANENT. IF ONE'S THOUGHT  
BECOMES CORRECT WITH GUIDANCE, IT WILL BE A CENTRI-  
PETAL FORCE. MY NINE YEAR BITTERNESS HAS COME TO AN  
END AFTER ALL. AN INTELLECTUAL DOES NOT LIGHTLY  
MAKE A PROMISE. I ASSURE WITH MY PERSONALITY AND  
FUTURE ACTIONS THAT I WILL NEVER COMMIT THE CRIME ANY  
MORE. I AM WILLING TO ENGAGE IN SOCIAL SERVICE  
OR TO WORK AS A LIBRARIAN. BUT IF THE GOVERNMENT  
WANTS ME TO SERVE AS A BRIDGE OF COMMUNICATION IN THE  
ELECTIONS AT THE END OF THIS YEAR, I WILL DO MY BEST.  
END UNCLASSIFIED

2. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. COMMENT: CH'EN'S ORIGINAL  
STATEMENT OF JUNE 3 (REFTEL) WAS CARRIED IN WHOLE OR  
EXCERPTED BY ALL LOCAL PAPERS. TO DATE NO LOCAL NEWS-  
PAPERS HAVE QUOTED ANYTHING FROM JUNE 5 STATEMENT (HOW-  
EVER INTERNATIONAL EDITION OF THE CHUNG YANG JIH PAO  
CARRIED FULL TEXTS OF BOTH STATEMENTS ON JULY 7). SOME

LOCAL REPORTERS NOW POSSESS COPIES OF BOTH TEXTS. WE KNOW THAT BOTH TEXTS WERE PROVIDED TO INTERNATIONAL STRINGERS, BUT IT IS LESS CLEAR WHETHER LOCAL REPORTERS GOT THE SECOND STATEMENT DIRECTLY OR OBTAINED IT FROM CONFIDENTIAL

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FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS. FAILURE TO PRINT JULY 5 TEXT LOCALLY SUGGESTS PAPERS MAY HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO LEAVE IT ALONE. GROG MOTIVES FOR CONTINUED SEPARATE HANDLING OF INFORMATION IN CH'EN CHU CASE IN LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL PRESS REMAIN UNCLEAR, BUT SUBJECTS IN THE SECOND TEXT WHICH COULD HAVE JUSTIFIED ITS DENIAL TO THE LOCAL POPULATION COULD INCLUDE CH'EN'S BELIEF THAT TAIWAN INDEPENDENCE WOULD WARD OFF A PRC INVASION AND THE CLAIM THERE WOULD BE INTERNATIONAL SYMPATHY FOR AN INDEPENDENT STATUS FOR TAIWAN. THE GROG PRESUMABLY WISHES TO AVOID ADDITIONAL EXPOSURE OF ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF "INDEPENDENCE" PRESENTED EVEN IN THE GUISE OF CRITICISM, SUCH AS TOOK PLACE WITH VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS' COMMENTS ON THE PRESBYTERIAN "DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS." UNGER

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## Message Attributes

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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SECOND WRITTEN STATEMENT BY CH'EN CHU  
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**To:** STATE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014